

Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY S/S:FORTIZ:AL

APPROVED BY S/S:FORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 223765

NODIS

GENEVA EYES ONLY FOR SAUNDERS

FOLLOWING REPEAT CAIRO 9312 ACTION SECSTATE SEP 19.

QUOTE: S E C R E T CAIRO 9312

NODIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR XF EG IS US

SUBJECT: HANDLING OF PROTOCOL IN GENEVA WORKING GROUP

REF: STATE 223626

1. I CALLED FAHMY THIS MORNING TO RAISE WITH HIM INITIALING/SIGNING PROCEDURE AS SUGGESTED BY THE ISRAELIS. I TOLD HIM THAT WE REGARD THE PROPOSED SEQUENTIAL PROCEDURE AS A PRACTICAL WAY TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM, SINCE IT IS UNLIKELY THAT WE WILL HAVE COMPLETED CONGRESSIONAL ACTION BEFORE THE PROTOCOL IS READY EARLY NEXT WEEK. I ASKED FOR HIS CONCURRENCE THAT THAT EGYPTIAN DELEGATION IN GENEVA BE SO INSTRUCTED.

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2. FAHMY'S REACTION WAS NEGATIVE. HE HAD HEARD

ABOUT THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL YESTERDAY IN A MESSAGE FROM THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION IN GENEVA. HE SEES THIS RABIN PROPOSAL AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF AN ISRAELI DESIRE TO STALL. HE RECALLED THAT HE HAD WARNED THE SECRETARY DURING THE ALEXANDRIA SHUTTLE THAT THIS MIGHT HAPPEN AND HAD STRESSED GOE WILL INSIST UPON EXPEDITIOUS SIGNING OF THE PROTOCOL.

3. FAHMY CONTENDED THAT SIGNING THE PROTOCOL SHOULD BE TOTALLY INDEPENDENT OF ACTION ON THE US PROPOSAL. THE PROTOCOL SHOULD BE SIGNED AS SOON AS IT IS READY AND HE ARGUED THE PREAMBULAR LANGAUGE OF THE ANNEX SUPPORTS THIS. THERE IS NO NEED FOR A PRELIMINARY INITIALING STEP PENDING CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE US PROPOSAL. THE AGREEMENT AND ANNEX SHOULD AND COULD STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET.

4. I REMINDED HIM THAT, AS HE KNEW, THE ISRAELIS HAVE MADE THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT CONDITIONAL UPON AN AMERICAN PRESENCE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THIS AND INDICATED GOE ALSO WANTS AN AMERICAN PRESENCE. GOE, HOWEVER CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OR CONTINUATION OF THE AGREEMENT IS CONDITIONED UPON AN AMERICAN PRESENCE. HE RECALLED PARA 8 OF THE US PROPOSAL ALLOWS FOR THE CONTINGENCY THAT THE USG MAY AT SOME TIME WITHDRAW THE AMERICANS IN WHICH CASE "ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS" WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT. JUDGING FROM ALL REPORTS, HE ASSUMED THE CONGRESS WILL APPROVE THE US PROPOSAL, BUT EVEN IF THERE IS A "5 PERCENT" CHANCE THAT IT WILL NOT, GOE CANNOT ACCEPT ANY INTERPRETATION SUGGESTING THAT IN SUCH AN EVENTUALITY THE AGREEMENT IS INVALID. SHOULD THERE BE CONGRESSIONAL REJECTION, HE ARGUED, IT WOULD THEN BE UP TO THE USG TO SO ADVISE THE PARTIES UNDER PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE US PROPOSAL SO THEY CAN MAKE THE "ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS" MENTIONED THEREIN. SINCE THIS CONTINGENCY HAS ALREADY BEEN TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, HE COULD NOT AGREE THAT SIGNING MUST AWAIT APPROVAL.

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5. I POINTED OUT THAT HE WAS TALKING ABOUT TWO SEPARATE THINGS -- INITIAL FINALIZATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IF AT SOME FUTURE DATE THE USG FELT IT HAD TO WITHDRAW ITS PEOPLE. THERE IS NOTHING IN THE AGREEMENT OR ANNEX ABOUT "ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS". THUS, HIS CONTENTION COULD HARDLY BE SUSTAINED. HE INSISTED

ON HIS POSITION AND THAT GOE WANTS SIGNING TO
TAKE PLACE AS SOON AS THE PROTOCOL IS FINISHED.

6. FAHMY ALSO RECALLED THAT THE SECRETARY HAD
TOLD PRESIDENT SADAT AND HIM IN ALEXANDRIA THAT
WE BELIEVE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION WOULD BE
COMPLETED BY THE TIME THE PROTOCOL IS READY. SINCE
WE HAVE NOW APPARENTLY CHANGED THIS ESTIMATE, HE
WONDERED WHEN CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IS LIKELY TO
BE COMPLETED.

7. COMMENT: FAHMY'S REACTION WAS PREDICTABLE
AND REFLECTS (A) GOE ANXIETY TO GET
SIGNING OUT OF THE WAY, AND (B) CONTINUING MISTRUST
OF ISRAELI INTENTIONS. EGYPTIAN CASE IS WEAK, BUT
WE MAY EXPECT THEM TO PUSH STRONGLY FOR IT. OUR
SIDING WITH ISRAELIS WILL SIT BADLY HERE AND
BE VIEWED AS US SUPPORT FOR ISRAELI DESIRE TO
STAVE OFF IMPLEMENTATION AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.
BEST WAY TO GET EGYPTIANS TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE
PROBLEM, WITHOUT IMPUGNING OUR MOTIVES, IS IF WE
CAN GIVE THEM SOME ASSURANCE CONGRESSIONAL
ACTION WILL BE COMPLETED IN WEEK OR SO AFTER PROTOCOL
COMPLETED. I DO NOT, OF COURSE, KNOW IF WE CAN
MAKE SUCH ESTIMATE.

8. SUGGEST DEPT PASS THIS MESSAGE TO TEL AVIV AND
GENEVA FOR SAUNDERS.
EILTS UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TREATY SIGNATURE, AGREEMENTS, CAT-B, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE223765
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: FORTIZ:AL
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N750004-0494
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750934/aaaabefe.tel
Line Count: 144
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 75 STATE 223626
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUN 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <10 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HANDLING OF PROTOCOL IN GENEVA WORKING GROUP
TAGS: PFOR, XF, EG, IS, US, (FAHMY, ISMAIL)
To: TEL AVIV GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006